

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 HA-05 EB-08
IO-13 /119 W
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P R 180655Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8084
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 4061

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, AF
SUBJECT: FURTHER ANALYSIS OF PRIME MINISTER TARAKI' POLICY
SPEECH

REF: KABUL 3806

1. SUMMARY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE OFFICIAL TEXT OF PRIME
MINISTER NOOR MOHAMMAD TARAKI'S POLICY SPEECH OF MAY 9
(THE FULL TEXT FOLLOWS BY AIRGRAM) ISHICATES THAT OUR
INITIAL ASSESSMENT OF HIS REGIME'S GOALS (REFTEL) WAS
GENERALLY ACCURATE: I.E., NIRVANA AT HOME AND NORTHWARD-
TILTING "NEUTRALITY" IN THE FOREIGN POLICY FIELD. THE
FULL TEXT, HOWEVER, CONTAINS MUCH MORE LEFTIST CLAPTRAP
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THAN WE INITIALLY PERCEIVED IN THE RADIO BROADCAST, AS
WELL AS INTIMATIONS THAT TARAKI'S NORTHWARD STANCE MAY
BE MORE OF A "LEAN" THAN A "TILT". END OFTSUMMARY.

2. IN THE OFFICIAL TEXT PUBLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT-
CONTROLLED PRESS, TARAKI'S OPENING POLEMIC AGAINST
DAOUD AND HIS GOVERNMENT OCCUPIES MORE COLUMN INCHES

THAN DOES THE NEW LEADER'S BLUEPRINT FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS COUNTRY. MOREOVER, IT CONTAINS REPEATED SNATCHES OF STANDARD LEFTIST JARGON, AND THUS UNDERSCORES OUR INITIAL IMPRESSION THAT THE SPEECH WAS MORE A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE THAN A SERIOUS EFFORT AT LAYING OUT WHAT TARAKI AND HIS COHORTS HAVE IN MIND FOR AFGHANISTAN. A DRUMBEAT OF REFERENCES TO "PATRIOTIC, REVOLUTIONARY, AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES", "DESPOTIC, EXPLOITING* AND DEMAGOGIC STRATE," "RIGHTIST, REACTIONARY, AND ROYALIST ELEMENTS," AD NAUSEUM, GIVES A GOOD INDICATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL BENT OF TARAKI AND HIS ADVISERS. IN THIS REGARD, TARAKIHDONTENDS THAT DAOUD'S DIVERSION FROM THE "GREAT AND SCIENTIFICALLY MEANINGFUL CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION," AND HIS ATTEMPT TO SELL THE AFGHAN PEOPLE AN "UNSCIENTIFIC AND FAKED IDEOLOGY," SMACKS OF LATENT MARXISM DESPITE TARAKI'S PROTESTATIONS AT OTHER TIMES (E.G., IN HIS MAY 6 PRESS CONFERENCE) THAT HIS IS NOT A COMMUNIST PARTY.

3. THE 23 DOMESTIC GOALS SET FORTH BY TARAKI REPRESENT A COMBINATION OF DESIRABLE, BUT PROBABLY UNATTAINABLE GENERALITIES, LEFTIST CATCH-PHRASES, AND SOME POTENTIALLY USEFUL REFORMS WHICH, IF INDEED IMPLEMENTED, COULD HAVE POSITIVE IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AFGHAN ECONOMY AND SOCIETY. ASSUMING THESE

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VARIOUS PLANKS ARE, IN FACT, GOALS WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT WILL PURSUE, TARAKI, ET AL, APPEAR TO ENVISAGE A SOCIAL STRUCTURE CONTROLLED BY THE PUBLIC SECTOR, A REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND HOLDINGS AND WATER RIGHTS, A PROTECTION OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY, AND IMPROVED HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION SYSTEM, AND A VERY MINOR ROLE FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR (A DEEMPHASIS WHICH COULD HAVE SERIOUS NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THIS COUNTRY'S SHORT-TERM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT).

4. SOME OF THE MORE POSITIVE REFORMS HAD BEEN SUGGESTED TO THE PREVIOUS REGIME BY A NUMBER OF FOREIGN ADVISERS, INCLUDING OUR OWN, AND IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO BOSERVE IF THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT WILL, IN FACT, ADOPT AND IMPLEMENT THEM.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 4061

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. ONE OF TARAKI'S DOMESTIC POINTS REFERS TO A
"DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION OF (THE) NOMADS ISSUE," AND
ANOTHER TO A PROGRAM WHICH WILL OSTENSIBLY PRESERVE
AND FOSTER THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY TRIBAL CULTURES
AND LANGUAGES. IN THIS REGARD, RADIO AFGHANISTAN
ANNOUNCED MAY 15 THAT HENCEFORTH SOME BROADCASTS
WOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN THE UZBEK, TURKMEN, BALUCH,
AND NURISTANI LANGUAGES. THE ANNOUNCEMENT ADDED THAT
OTHER LOCAL LANGUAGES AND CULTURES WOULD ALSO BE
PROMOTED BY THE CENTRAL AUTHORITIES. TARAKI'S POINT
ABOUT THE NOMADS, AND A MAY 11 PRESS EDITORIAL TALKING
ABOUT "IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF LIFE" OF THESE TRIBES,
IMPLY THAT SOME GOVERNMENTAL ACTION MAY BE IN THE OFFING
TO RESETTLE THESE HISTORICALLY NOMADIC PEOPLES WHOSE
FREE WANDERINGS (PRINCIPALLY ACROSS THE AFGHAN-PAK
BORDER), SMUGGLING ACTIVITIES, AND CAPITALIST, MONEY-
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LEADING ENTERPRISES, MAY BE VIEWED WITH SOME TREPIDA-
TION BY THIS REGIME. MOREOVER, THE PLANK REGARDING
TRIBAL LANGUAGES (ALSO SECONDED IN THE MAY 11 EDITORIAL)
COULD WELL BE AIMED AT ENDING, OR AT LEAST REDUCING, THE
DECADES-LONG DOMINATION OF THIS COUNTRY'S ETHNIC
MINORITIES BY THE PUSHTUNS. ALTHOUGH THE NEW GOVERNMENT

IS LED BY PUSHTUNS, THE ETHNIC MAKE-UP OF THE FIRST CABINET (WHICH INCLUDES TWO HAZARAS, FOUR TAJIKS, AND AN UZBEK) COULD CONSTITUTE THE REGIME'S FIRST STEP IN THIS DIRECTION. BREAKING THE TRADITIONAL PUSHTUN GRIP ON THE LEVERS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER HERE COULD PRESENT THE REGIME WITH DIFFICULTIES AND EVEN DANGERS, HOWEVER.

6. TARAHI'S SEVEN FOREIGN POLICY PLANKS REITERATE THE OFT-HEARD THEME THAT AFGHANISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES WILL BE DETERMINED BY THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD HIS REGIME. HE ALSO STATES THAT THIS GOVERNMENT WILL PURSUE A POLICY OF "NONALIGNMENT AND POSITIVE AND ACTIVE NEUTRALITY, INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE." IN ADDITION, " WIDENING AND ALL-ROUND EXPANSION OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH OUR GREAT NORTHERN NEIGHBOR, THE SOVIET UNION," WILL BE SOUGHT BY TARAHI'S GOVERNMENT. SUCH REFERECES LEAVE LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE NEW REGIME WILL BE MUCH MORE AMENDABLE TO INFLUENCE FROM THE NORTH THAN HAVE BEEN ITS PREDECESSORS. THE OTHER FOREIGN POLICY PLANKS REPRESENT FAIRLY STANDARD LEFTIST FORMULATIONS REGARDING CERTAIN AREAS, AND

ISSUES (E.G., SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA; PEACE; GENERAL DISARMAMENT; AND INTERNATIONAL DETENTE).
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7. TARAHI'S CLOSING REMARK -- "FORWARD TO PEACE, CONSOLIDATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY, PROGRESS AND GENUINE SOCIAL JUSTICE" -- COULD HAVE BEEN LIFTED DIRECTLY FROM THE PAGES OF "PRAVDA" AND "EZVESTIYA".

8. IN SUM, TARAHI'S INITIAL PUBLIC ADDRESS AND FORMULATION OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S GOALS CONSTITUTED A CLEAR PROPAGANDA EFFORT TO CONVINCE THE PEOPLE THAT THE APRIL 27 REVOLUTION WAS NEEDED, AND THAT THE NEW ORDER WILL STRIVE TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES WHICH WILL GUARANTEE A BETTER AND MORE PROSPEROUS LIFE FOR ALL AFGHANS. WHETHER THE MASSES WILL BUY THIS LINE REMAINS TO BE SEEN. BUT THEY MAY ALSO HAVE LITTLE CHOICE.
ELIOT

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